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country beyond, is a large, colonial, two-story building--the county courthouse (prefeitura), the official center of local county administration. With heavily barred windows on the ground level, it also serves as the county jail. At the top of the hill is a large church, the mother church of the parish of São Roque. On the right, on top of another hill, is the imposing Franciscan convent. The main street of the town is narrow, paved with cobblestones and lined by old colonial houses in various stages of repair. To the left one sees the "beach," which at low tide is an expanse of ugly black mud, typical of the shores of this back part of the bay. The long dugout canoes of the fishermen are anchored there and rest on the bottom when the tide is out.

As the boat sails away and the townspeople go about their business, the streets empty, and a peculiar hush, which is characteristic of Vila Recôncavo, falls over the town. There is an atmosphere not so much of sleepiness and inertia as of decadence, as though life had already passed by. The few people who remain somehow seem to be left over from something in the past. The houses which face the main street are somber, their façades going straight up two stories from the street, their windows shuttered. Some of them are crumbling, the mortar falling away, exposing the stone of which they are built; others are in complete ruin. All of them are turning black from the constant exposure to humid salt air, and moss is growing on the walls where the sun never strikes.

From the top of the hill, in front of the mother church, there is a magnificent view of the Bay of All Saints, and it is easily understood why this place was chosen 332 years ago as the site for a new town. This part of town is the old Vila Recôncavo (see map of town), dating back to a time when the settlement was the only administrative center of inland colonial Bahia. Upon this hill and the one on which the convent stands, the elite of the sugar lands built their town houses called sobrados. Once upon a time these streets with their stepping-stones were the scene of colonial opulence, of sedan chairs carried by liveried slaves, of soldiers in uniform, of ladies wearing gloves and carrying parasols. Today this old part of Vila Recôncavo is inhabited by simpler people, the town's upper class, who eke out a living in the local bureaucracy, or as merchants, or as representatives of the state and federal governments. They are quiet, gentlemanly people trying to keep up a semblance of dignity, a feat which becomes more difficult all the time.

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Map of the town of Vila Recôncavo

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

in 1822, in the politics of the Empire, a role similar to that assumed by Minas Geraes, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul in the Republic following 1889. In fact, she has been called "the Brazilian Virginia." Until 1907 Bahia was also the religious center of the Brazilian nation. Her archbishop was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Brazil, and the religious orders maintained here their principal representatives. Thus in the economic, political, and religious life of Brazil, Bahia boasts a long tradition of distinction and prestige.

The present city is about the size of Indianapolis or Seattle.[6] It nestles along the eastern rim of a huge bay, Bahia de Todos os Santos. The bay is formed by the projection out into the ocean of Cape Santo Antonio, which, on its western side, breaks rather sharply almost at the water's edge, exposing a bold promontory approximately three hundred f[illegible] in height which parallels for some two to three miles the rim of the bay. The city clings to the narrow shelf between the bay and the cliff and then sprawls up over this sizable barrier and spreads out along the ridges and into the valleys to the east and north, where centuries of erosion have carved a one-time flat plain into alternating crests and steep-sloping depressions.

Bahia is thus divided by a natural barrier into a lower and an upper city, into a Cidade Baixa and a Cidade Alta, as the two parts are locally called; the one connected with the other by steep, winding streets paved with cobblestones, by inclined planes and modern hydraulic elevators, or by numerous well-worn footpaths. In the lower city lies, of course,

[6] An estimate by the state government gave for the city of Bahia on December 31, 1934, a population of 352,244 (*Annuario estatistico da Bahia, 1934*, p. 131). The federal census of 1920 gave for Bahia City 283,422 (*Recenseamento do Brasil, 1920*, Vol. IV: *População*, Book I, p. xxiv).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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struggle of native labor versus foreign capital and thus tend to unify rather than to divide the local group. Religious competition has not become severe enough to intensify self-consciousness on the part of rival adherents and thus evoke serious animosities. As far as national affairs are concerned, intense local loyalties had not, at least at the time this study was made, been seriously exacerbated by onerous control from without. A minimum of racial conflict will be evident throughout this account.

THE *ricos* OF THE RIDGES AND THE *pobres* OF THE VALLEYS

One of the things Darwin noted, when he visited Bahia in 1832, was that the city rested upon "a level plain of about three hundred feet in elevation, which in all parts has been worn into flat-bottomed valleys."[1] Today the scene is still much as Darwin saw it. Continuing erosion has merely emphasized the general characteristics of the landscape, transforming the once level plain somewhat more decidedly into alternating ridges, relatively steep declivities, and comparatively narrow valleys.

This physiography of the country has not been without significance in the cultural life of Bahia; for, in general, the distribution of the population by classes, and even to some extent by ethnic divisions, follows quite closely the lay of the land. Along the ridges, which wind with the changing terrain, ordinarily run the principal streets, bearing the chief lines of transportation, whether by streetcar, bus, or automobile. So far as accessibility to the center and other principal parts of the city is concerned, here are the more convenient residential locations. The elevation of the ridges,

[1] Charles Darwin, *The Voyage of the Beagle* ("Harvard Classics," Vol. XXIX [New York, 1909]), p. 521.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The valleys, on the other hand, afford less comfortable, less healthful, less convenient, and, consequently, less expensive residential locations. Here the regularly laid out streets and paving disappear. The inhabitants get about by way of footpaths, the red clay of which becomes slippery after a tropical downpour and quite treacherous on the steeper slopes. Here live the lower classes. Dwellings are simple mud huts constructed of a sapling framework over which puddled clay has been spread and allowed to dry. If the owner's income has permitted, the rough exterior of the dwellings has been smoothed off and a lime wash in pale tints of pink, blue, green, or yellow added. The floor is commonly of earth, neatly sanded at regular intervals with fresh *areia* from the seashore. The roof of such dwellings is usually of palm fronds and may be slightly raised at the gable to permit the more ready exit of smoke from the housewife's fire. The furniture ordinarily consists of rude benches or stools, perhaps a cheap chair, a rough table, and cots, or, more commonly, straw mats for sleeping. A Standard Oil Company can whose top and bottom have been removed is used for a stove. Furnishings include an unpretentious niche with a small image of the family's patron saint, a candle, perhaps an almanac, and a rude iron support for washbasin and pitcher of water. Utensils are usually of baked clay and quite simple in design.

In respect to economic level, education, and, to some extent, religion, the inhabitants of these lower-class areas diverge widely from those of the ridges. They are usually illiterate, although some of the children are now being enrolled in government-sponsored schools. Communication is ordinarily by word of mouth, seldom by newspaper, book, or telephone. Conversation is carried on in the Portuguese

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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gated to the less desirable territory. Although the Europeans have still today, to a considerable extent, maintained their original advantage, the blacks and darker mixed-bloods have gradually pushed themselves up the slopes from their less favored locations until now they have come, in some cases, to share a portion of the Europeans' favored position. One occasionally finds them living next to the homes of the whites, symbolizing the fact that they now occupy those positions, social as well as spatial, which personal ability, occupational proficiency, and favorable circumstance have enabled them to achieve and to maintain. Thus the racial distinctions which one from the United States is so likely on first acquaintance to note turn out to be, as we shall soon see in more detail, not the things which are either so genuine or so important as at first sight might appear.

It is significant, in this connection, that in what might be called the intermediate residential areas of the city, where the dwellings of those who are rising out of the lower classes meet the dwellings of the upper classes, one finds the darker and the lighter portions of the population meeting and mingling in close residential proximity. This is true, for example, along the Avenida Sete de Setembro.

The Avenida Sete de Setembro, from Jardim Suspenso on, is the only artery into the "downtown area" from South Bahia. It thus becomes the route of passage for processions like those of Carnival, the "Micarêta,"[14] the Peruada,[15] and the numerous religious *festas*, and the avenue of march for the military during visits of political celebrities. Its streetcar line and constant flow of busses would make it less de-

[14] The "Micarêta" is the so-called "second Carnival" held the Sunday following Easter.

[15] The Peruada is an annual students' parade with floats.

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sirable as a seat of residence for one weary of the noises of an industrial city, but for the Bahian wife and daughters, whose world is still largely inside the doors of the home, these characteristics seem to give it a peculiar charm. Hence, one will see along this avenue, almost from Praça Castro Alves out, the residences of many substantial families and, in Vitoria, just beyond the governor's palace, the more pretentious dwellings of the upper class.

TABLE 1

FAMILIES DWELLING ALONG THE AVENIDA SETE DE SETEMBRO CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ETHNIC COMPOSITION, BAHIA, 1936

	Number	Per Cent
Black	19	7.6
Mixed-blood	97	38.6
White	128	51.0
Mixed-blood and white	5	2.0
Black and mixed-blood	2	0.8
Total	251	100.0

No Bahian house which boasts any pretension fails to have a balcony, while nearly all possess large casement windows opening out on the street. From this vantage point the family can while away many pleasant hours leaning on elbows and "watching the *gente* (people) go by." Consequently, one can readily gain, especially during the passage of processions when the balconies and windows are fully occupied, rather accurate information on the physical character of the population. It is possible at Carnival, for example, particularly just preceding the passage of the floats, to take a census with respect to racial composition, as far

[SALVADOR]

/9/ The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
633 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

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1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

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633 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
[103] Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[249] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
• [363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[67] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[62] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

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4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the